

THE MILITANT

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Witch Hunt In Mexico

— See page 6 —

The Detroit Uprising— Report from the Ghetto

"Self-Service" Was Integrated In Motor City

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — There was one feature of the uprising that is unique among the various ghetto explosions that have taken place over the past several years. All eye-witnesses and reporters were forced to recognize the integrated character of the events. Whites joined with blacks in repossessing items from stores, in setting fires and in the guerrilla warfare against the police. The lack of hostility between whites and blacks on the streets of Detroit during the most explosive days of the uprising made it impossible for reporters or officials to simply label the explosion a race riot. The overwhelming majority of the rebels were black and the basic causes of the uprising lay in the treatment of blacks in our society. However, hundreds of whites were involved in the activities directed against the white merchants who exploit poor people in the inner city. This aspect of the Detroit uprising gives America's capitalist rulers a small taste of events to come.

Mixed Area

I live in a racially mixed area just north of downtown. This is the section of the city that attracts the poor newcomers from the south, white and black. This is the new Skid Row, created when the old one was urban renewed. Here live southern whites, Detroit-born whites, blacks from the south and native Detroiters, American Indians, Chinese, Mexican — and many other ethnic types. Black and white live near each other but not really together. Whole blocks are white while other blocks are black. One apartment in a block will be all-black, the next two all-white, the next few black and so on. Black, white and yellow go to the same schools, shop in the same stores. There are, of course, racial antagonisms but there is also the shared feelings and attitudes which are created when people face a common enemy.

On the second day of the uprising I went to the supermarket for milk and bread. Whites and blacks stood together patiently in

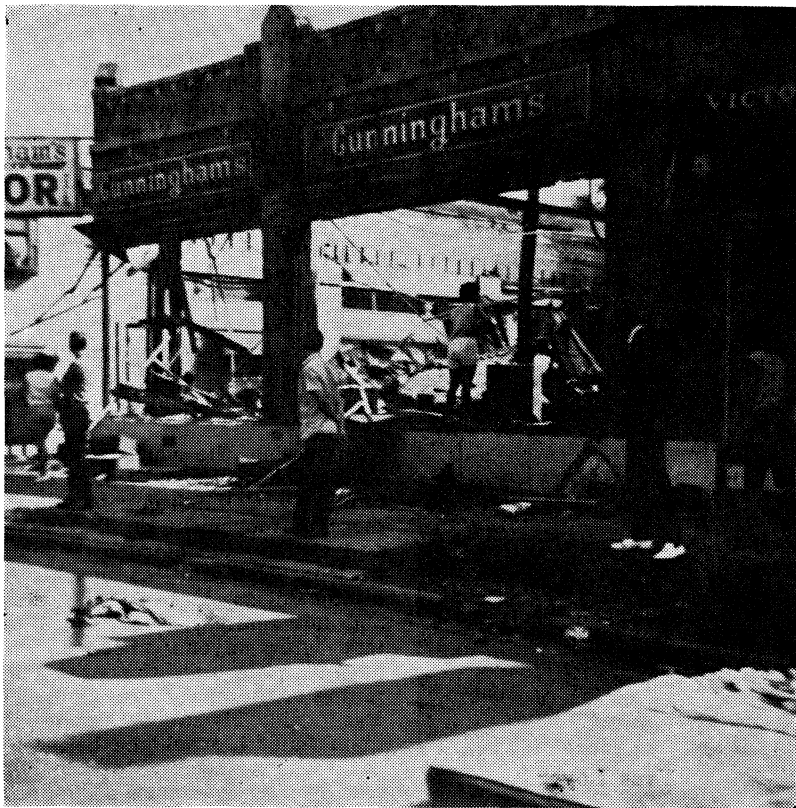


Photo by Nick Medvecky, Jr.

GUTTED. Stores of price-gouging ghetto merchants were particular target of Detroit ghetto outbreak.

the long line. Whites and blacks stood in groups along the street watching fires and smoke. There was conversation between the races. As I turned onto Grand River near Trunbull, I saw a group of people climbing into store windows and leaving with arms full of merchandise. I pulled the car over and watched. Whites and blacks stood on the sidewalk pointing to what was happening, laughing together over the

scene. Occasionally one of the observers would casually stroll across the street and join in the activity. Word was obviously spreading around the neighborhood because streams of people, white and black, hurried down the streets toward the stores. One white girl ran down the sidewalk shouting, "I'm gonna get me some!" I could see a black man inside the store handing articles

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A Black Socialist's First-Hand Account

By Derrick Morrison

[Derrick Morrison is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and is active in Detroit's black freedom movement. He is 21 years old.]

DETROIT — In the city where they said it could never happen, it finally happened. Detroit, the "Model City," the city where blacks were supposed to have it so good, the city where so much progress was made in the last 25 years in police-community relations, finally saw, in the words of one of the Brothers, "red flames in the east and black smoke in the west." And in those red flames and black smoke went the myth of racial "peace and progress" in the Motor City.

Biggest Yet

The "Thing" was on, and when it was over, white America had experienced the biggest and costliest black uprising in its history. This was the first time in 24 years that the federal government had to send in troops to quell a civil disturbance. The last time they were used was in the 1943 anti-black riot here. And this is only the prelude to the Black Revolution.

As I walked through the area that was in upheaval, I could see and feel the sense of togetherness and the new pride and dignity that had been acquired during those four days, but which had been shaped under 400 years of white-racist oppression. The feeling was especially evident in those Afro-Americans of my generation.

According to one of the Brothers,



TO SPEAK IN N.Y. Derrick Morrison will speak on the Detroit Rebellion at the Militant Labor Forum Friday evening Aug. 11.

ers, the Detroit uprising began around 4:30 Sunday morning. This was after the cops had raided a speakeasy on 12th St. near Clairmont and brutally beat up one of the men there. This was the spark that started the explosion in Detroit. The ingredients were the inhuman treatment suffered by blacks at the hands of police, the wholesale looting of black pocket-books by the devil-like white merchants, and the general concentration-camp conditions that exist in most ghettos across the country.

On Sunday, the blacks took over 12th St., appropriating commodities and burning stores at will. Heavy black smoke could be seen

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The Cops and Courts Were Brutal

DETROIT — More than 4,000 persons were arrested during the Detroit uprising and charged with crimes ranging from inciting to riot and sniping to breaking the 9 p.m. curfew and looting. The 12 Recorder's Court judges met on the second day of the revolt and agreed on a get tough attitude which violated all legal and constitutional rights for prisoners.

High Bonds

Impossible bonds of \$10,000 to \$25,000 were set for even minor charges. Judge Brennan explained the high bonds: "It should assure keeping these rioters off the streets." Judge Colombo set some bonds at \$100,000 and \$200,000. He told one defendant, "I can set bond up to \$10 million if I wish to." He then told another defendant, "You're nothing but a lousy, thieving looter." The accused man protested, "You will have to prove that." Colombo turned red and stated, "We will." The Detroit branch of the

American Civil Liberties Union protested "the legal injustices" and complained that "almost without exception" bonds were excessive, attorneys have been unable to talk with their clients and the system for assigning legal counsel to indigent persons was inadequate. The ACLU has asked that "any judge who has engaged in prejudicial conduct on the bench" during the explosion be disqualified.

ACLU Protest

Ernest Mazey, executive director of the ACLU, and a group of 150 protested the gross violations of civil liberties by the police. Complaints about police brutality are numerous. Julian Witherspoon, chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee for the city's anti-poverty program, U.S. Rep. John Conyers and State Rep. James Del Rio witnessed police punch handcuffed prisoners in precinct stations. Residents in the areas where the uprising was

strongest describe how police invaded homes without warrants, smashing doors and furniture, injuring inhabitants and tearing rooms apart in a search for guns and ammunition. A number of black persons, including women and children, were shot and some killed by police firing wildly into homes with rifles and machine guns.

Wholesale Technique

Many black and white prisoners report that they were arrested by a wholesale technique used by the police who grabbed any person in sight. Prisoners were beaten, cursed at and loaded into buses and cells that were overcrowded and lacked toilet facilities. Police garages were used to hold prisoners who were forced to rest on floors covered with oil and urine. Food was not served, water was not available for days in many cases. Hundreds of young boys, some as young as nine years, were placed under

\$5,000 to \$10,000 bonds, jammed into inadequate facilities at the Juvenile Home and will probably be detained up to three months before trial.

Used Pretext

The police used the uprising as a pretext to arrest and harass black militants. One of the defendants in the August police-created riot of last year was arrested for looting as he stepped out of his own store. Vaughn's Book Store, a nationalist center in the city, came under vicious attack by the police. In their brazen attempt to destroy the book store, Detroit cops once again demonstrated that they were one of the major factors which touched off America's most costly black revolt. At 4 a.m. of the morning of July 27, eyewitnesses saw four carloads of uniformed white police break windows and show cases. Books were shoved onto the floor and then drenched

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Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, THE MILITANT is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated Aug. 21. Regular weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 4.



The United Auto Workers, negotiating under heavy government pressure, have signed contracts covering 5,200 workers at the Avco-Lycoming Division at Stratford, Conn. Two UAW locals covering production and office-clerical workers, had gone on strike on April 16. It took Johnson just one day to obtain a Taft-Hartley injunction imposing an 80-day "cooling off" period on the strikers.

The settlement came just two days before the expiration of the injunction. Production workers will receive pay increases of 53 cents per hour over three years; 18 cents (with 10 cents of that retroactive to April 16) the first year; 17 cents the second and 18 cents the third year. Office-clerical workers received a "general increase" but no figures were given. Production workers also got a slightly improved cost-of-living protection clause, night-shift premiums, and additional 10 cents per hour for skilled workers, improved sickleave allowances, health and pension benefits, and supplementary unemployment increases.

The National Council of Senior Citizens held their annual convention in Washington, D.C. last month. Petitions containing hundreds of thousands of signatures were presented to their congressmen in an attempt to prod Congress into action to "get Social Security out of the horse and buggy age."

The NCSC is seeking increased pensions as well as radical changes

New York Ends Its Lockout of Welfare Union

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK, Aug. 1 — Members of the Social Service Employees Union returned to work today after being locked out of their welfare centers for almost seven weeks. A union membership meeting July 30 voted by a 3 to 2 margin to accept an arbiter's proposal to mediate the issues in the dispute.

The mediator will consider such issues as the union's request for automatic clothing grants to clients, a bargaining clause in the new contract, a fund for workers issued on the job, and additional benefits for homemakers. The city accepted this proposal July 31.

Key to the agreement was a modified stand by the city on the question of reprisals against workers participating in the job action. During the six weeks of the work stoppage, the city had suspended more than 600 workers, and 50 had been arrested. They had been threatened with dismissal transfers and demotions.

A previous mediation proposal, accepted by the city, was rejected by the union membership because 29 of the most active members of the union would have been suspended for two weeks, placed on probation for six months, and transferred involuntarily to other welfare centers. The present agreement eliminates the suspensions, but still stipulates the involuntary transfer of the 29, pending arbitration.

The Union had initiated a work-in because Herbert Haber, city director of Labor Relations, broke his commitment to the union that all issues unresolved by a strike last January would go to fact-finding. In accepting mediation on the issues directly, the city has conceded the relevance of these disputed items to a union contract.

in Medicare. One of the provisions they want to eliminate from the present bill is the one which allows doctors to bill patients directly instead of collecting from the government. They also demand the setting of doctors' fees on a regional basis and the extension of Medicare to cover disabled or chronically ill persons of all ages.

The oldsters dramatized their demands by parading up Pennsylvania Avenue led by a horse-drawn surrey (with a fringe on top?) and an old Franklin car.

The unemployment rate moved up to four percent in June, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But this bare figure hides a far more alarming factor. The June jobless rate for young people 16 to 21 years old was 15.2, slightly lower than the rates for 1965 and '66. But, all the improvement came among white youth. The unemployment rate for black youth held steady at 25 percent.

The longest strike in the history of the rubber industry has come to an end. On July 26 the United Rubber Workers signed a tentative agreement with the last hold-out, Uniroyal Corp. The five companies involved were Goodyear, Goodrich, General Tire, Firestone and Uniroyal.

One of the main demands of the union in these strikes was the across-the-board wage increase for all production workers, not just the tire workers. The four companies other than General Tire did grant the same increase to all production workers — 43 cents per hour over three years; 15 cents each of the first two years, 13 cents the final contract year. The entire package is estimated to be approximately 85 cents per hour over three years, and includes increased corporation pension and welfare-fund payments, increased supplementary unemployment benefits up to 80 percent of straight-time hourly rates, and liberalized vacation schedules.

Ratification of the Goodyear and Uniroyal tentative contracts is still in progress, but reports indicate that the workers will accept the terms.

There has been no mention as yet whether the General Tire contract clause on across-the-board increases for all workers, not just those manufacturing tires, will be renegotiated.

The Newark, N.J. teachers union condemned the city's "second-rate, deteriorating" schools as a major cause in the recent rebellion. Union officials charge that schools were old, ill-equipped and over crowded and that as a consequence, large numbers of pupils were dropping out.

The Pennsylvania State AFL-CIO and the Penna. Local Government Conference joined forces on July 28 to urge that the constitutional convention now in session change current state laws to eliminate tax exemptions for churches and all other nonprofit organizations. AFL-CIO president, Harry Boyer, also urged that current tax exemptions granted utility operating properties, be lifted.

On this point, Boyer said: "The increase in such local revenues would place to that degree a lesser burden upon the commonwealth to subsidize essential services at the community and county level."

The Catholic and Episcopalian churches, both among the largest owners of slum property in the country, all tax-exempt, certainly won't go for that proposal! And they will be joined by "utility operating properties," without any doubt.

—Marvel Scholl

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

French Antiwar Activists Visit U.S.

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — An organized movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam has developed in France, the National Vietnam Committee. Two members of that committee, Yves Loyer and Jackie Baron, are currently visiting the United States and while in New York were interviewed at the office of *The Militant*.

Yves Loyer is an artist who has been active in the movement against the Algerian war and who responded immediately when a movement was initiated in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. Jackie Baron, a schoolteacher, had previously not been involved in any movement but was attracted by the views and activities of the National Vietnam Committee and became a hard-working member.

During their visit here they hope to get as full a picture as possible of the U.S. antiwar movement and to promote collaboration and coordination between the

gram for peace and the Liberation Front's four-point program.

They also emphasized that the committee makes very clear its differences with de Gaulle's position which they regard as merely an attempt by French imperialism to exploit the difficulties of the U.S. in the Far East.

Like the U.S. antiwar movement, the French committee distributes educational material, holds public meetings and organizes demonstrations. Yves and Jackie noted with a certain satisfaction that their committee had played a prominent role in the very vigorous "welcome" extended Hubert Humphrey on his recent visit to Paris. The committee's primary influence is among students (including, they said, a very impressive number of high-school students).

French antiwar activists are much aware of the antiwar movement here, they said, but have no conception of its actual size.

"Our first impression was one of astonishment at how many local groups there are," Yves said. "We would need a year to get in touch with all of them. Our second impression was that the coordinating groups here, the New York Parade Committee, the Student and National Mobilization Committees, have coordinated all these groups in a really impressive way. With so many different groups and so many different positions, to realize such coordination is a marvelous thing."

Discussing the various demonstrations here, I asked if they were familiar with the discussion within the U.S. movement on the value or lack of value of such demonstrations. They said they had heard of the discussions on this but had not really had a chance to talk with anyone about it. "I haven't quite understood the reasoning of those who are opposed," Yves said. "I suppose some of them think it would be better to build a new society to stop the war. But the war must be stopped now and fighting against it helps build the new society."

Besides, he added, "The conflict between the Vietnamese and the United States is a decisive conflict between popular forces and imperialism. The defeat of the Vietnamese struggle would postpone the building of the new society."

They are aware that the antiwar movement in this country

doesn't take positions as advanced as that of their committee but feel the movement is headed in the right direction. "When you talk to the people in the different organizations," Jackie observed, "you see that they want more than just the withdrawal of American troops. At first I thought that if that is all they want it's not much. But it is a first step. Perhaps with more demonstrations it will get to the real point — support of the Vietnamese people."

Yves added that the movement here is much stronger than they had anticipated, "It's much stronger



Jackie Baron

er than the movement we had in France against the Algerian war," he said.

He was quite impressed, he added, by the extent of resistance to the draft here. "We had soldiers who deserted during the Algerian war," he said, "but no one went on the streets and burned their draft cards."

They said they already advised the French National Vietnam Committee of the coming Oct. 21 mobilization in Washington and they were confident there would be a big supporting demonstration organized in France and elsewhere in Europe.

"It is important that the American people know people in Europe are against the war," Jackie said, "and that the antiwar movement here is supported by people all over."

N.Y. Cuba Week Celebration —Yglesias, Films, Expo Trip

NEW YORK — The week of July 26 was "Cuba Week" for the Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Labor Forum. The YSA sponsored a series of activities in solidarity with the Cuban revolution beginning with Cuban movies on Sunday July 23 and ending with a chartered-bus trip to the Cuban Pavilion at Expo 67 the next weekend.

A high point of the week was a meeting at the Militant Labor Forum for Jose Yglesias, the novelist who recently spent three months in a Cuban village.

Yglesias gave an inspiring account of the quality of life in revolutionary Cuba. He said that although the Revolution faced many difficulties and that there were yet many problems to be solved there was a tremendous sense of accomplishment and revolutionary identity among the people.

He concluded in the manner of meetings in Cuba with the slogans: "Viva La Vietnam Heróica!" "Viva La Revolución Socialista!" "Patria o Muerte, Venceremos!" The audience of more than 200

responded to each slogan with a tremendous ovation.

At Expo 67, people from the YSA bus joined with members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in a special tour of the Cuban Pavilion. Afterward, the Cuban guides were awarded a plaque expressing Canadian solidarity with the revolution. There was much discussion and trading of literature and buttons between the young Cubans and the Canadian and American youth.

July 26 at U of Wisc.

MADISON, Wisc. — Despite a downpour, 200 University of Wisconsin students turned out for a meeting saluting the Cuban Revolution on the 26th of July. It was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. They heard Walter Lippman of the YSA cite the great gains of the revolution and urge support for revolutionary fighters in Latin America. The release of Latin-American political prisoners was demanded. Films from Cuba were shown.

SPECIAL FROM NEWARK

News a Reporter Didn't Get Printed

Special to The Militant

As a reporter for a New Jersey newspaper assigned to cover the riot scene in Newark I saw and was told about incidents that never found their way into the daily press.

Some of the episodes were recounted by participants in what officials called a "criminal conspiracy" but correctly labeled war by the ghetto residents; other events were witnessed by myself and other newsmen who could not convince their editors to use the material in stories the next day.

The press was anxious to print only those stories that conformed to the preconceived view of public officials that the riots were caused by "criminal elements" planned and carried out with the help of "outside agitators."

Actually, the demonstrations were spontaneous. There was no leadership either from within or outside the ghetto. One former organizer for the National Maritime Union and presently an official of an antipoverty agency in a large northern New Jersey city, a resident of Newark, expressed this view of the war:

"It looked more like an act of expropriation similar to Castro's action when he took over American property than acts of thefts and wanton looting. These people weren't robbing for the sake of robbing. It was like a primitive form of community distribution of goods."

Entered Drugstore

As a Negro he mingled freely among the ghetto residents. He described one scene where a group of men had broken into a drugstore on Springfield Avenue and proceeded to pass out sunglasses to women who lined up in front of the store. When the glasses were gone the men distributed insecticide bombs to housewives.

"Few of the men took anything for themselves," he recounted. "The same thing happened in a liquor store on Belmont Avenue several blocks away. When the men broke into the store their first act was to smash the bottles of liquor on the racks and in the showcases. Remarkably few bottles were taken from the store. They were in too good spirits to imbibe any of the spirits. Their aim was not to get drunk but to stay sober and to destroy the object of their usual weekend senselessness."

This statistic was borne out by police and press reports. There were almost no incidents of drunkenness, barroom or street brawls, or family fights.

A florist shop on the corner of Belmont and Springfield Avenues was the object of an attack. A man tried to kick in a plate-glass window with his foot while a large crowd of people cheered him on. The glass refused to break. He punched it with his fist. The glass held. Finally, he picked up an empty metal garbage can and

450 Pickets Waited For LBJ in Boston

BOSTON — Radio reports that President Johnson would be speaking here brought out a "welcoming committee" of 450 antiwar demonstrators July 11. Organized at the last minute by the Boston Area Mobilization Committee, the demonstrators gathered at the Boston War Memorial Auditorium where radio announcements said Johnson would make an appearance at the National Convention of the NAACP.

Johnson failed to show up but the antiwar protestors marched anyhow, chanting "Hey Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" and "End the War in Vietnam, Bring the Troops Home."



Photo by Randy Abbott

ON GUARD. National Guardsmen on occupation duty during Newark outbreak.

tossed it at the window. It shattered.

The man waited for the glass to fall to the pavement, then walked over to the open space of the storefront, reached and took out a small plant in a flowerpot. He looked at it admiringly and walked away.

On Prince Street, a thoroughfare crowded with food stores and fabric shops that thrives on price gouging, an empty building was the scene of a raging inferno. Clusters of Negroes and Spanish speaking people gathered across the street in front of the Stella Wright project to watch the devastation and the firemen fighting the blaze.

"Instant Renewal"

This reporter, walking through the area, stopped to talk to several spectators. "Man, that building never looked so good as it does now," one man remarked grinning broadly. "That's what's known as instant renewal," a second man observed. "What they don't tear down is gonna get burned down."

Local police, state troopers, and National Guardsmen cordoned off the area. They were armed with shotguns aimed at windows and roofs, wary of sniper fire. Window shades in apartments along the war-scarred streets were drawn. Occasionally a head bobbed through an open window. A rifle would be aimed at the spot and an armed cop would yell: "Get that head inside. Get away from the window. Get in."

A helicopter circled overhead and the area reverberated with the rumbling of personnel carriers resembling army tanks. Frequently an armed official would shout there was a suspicious figure leaning out of a window or peering over a rooftop. Shots fired from their guns punctuated the air like a whiplash. Armed officials crouched behind cars, garbage cans, in hallways — rifles and guns aimed ready to shoot. People and newsmen would scatter for cover.

As nightfall covered the city, police and guardsmen became more wary and began to shoot at will at anything that moved or appeared to move in the shadows. After one 15-minute firing spree from the ground by policemen at

the rooftop of a project near the Fourth Precinct on West Kinney Street a police official yelled: "Who the hell are we shooting at? Who the hell is up there?" As the shooting subsided police realized they were shooting at National Guardsmen and the guardsmen were returning fire.

Mayor Addonizio and Gov. Richard J. Hughes issued statements deploring, among other things, what they called the festive, holiday mood among the ghetto residents. "Sure it was like a holiday mood. Why shouldn't it be?" remarked the former NMU organizer. "For the first time they could express themselves and release their frustrations. They had met the enemy and they weren't subdued."

As guardsmen moved through the stricken area in tanks and convoy trucks youngsters ran in front of them and alongside waving white handkerchiefs and yelling and laughing: "We surrender. We surrender." The guardsmen gripped their rifles tighter.

Beaten Up

Several days later the former union organizer told me he had been beaten up by state troopers as he returned home from work. Driving onto Springfield Avenue from the Irvington side approximately six troopers approached his car and ordered him out. The story, as he related it, was this:

"As I reached down to the floor of the car to put on the hand brake a bayonet was jammed against my head and a trooper asked me what I was doing. I told him. He yanked open the door and dragged me out by my shirt. It was ripped off my back and I was thrown against the car. I was told to spread my legs apart and lie spread-eagle against the car."

Continuing, he said: "Before I could do so a trooper began to kick my shins until the skin came off and I began to bleed. He was about to hit me on the head with his rifle butt when I yelled: 'You're assassinating me. I'm a federal official.' Someone behind him said 'Cool it.' He stopped short. All those killed and wounded. How many of them were victims of trigger happy vicious police who were just anxious to shoot anybody?"

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Monday, August 7, 1967

The Lesson of Detroit

Vice-President Hubert Humphrey managed to point to the most apparent lesson to be learned from what happened in Detroit. Humphrey told Detroit Mayor Cavanagh, "If it can happen in your town, it can happen anywhere. With all the programs you had going and with all the understanding between your Negro leaders and your whites. It can happen anywhere." Detroit has proven conclusively that major urban convulsions can hit any city in the country.

The Detroit uprising exposes the terrible dilemma of America's capitalist rulers; no matter what they do, they cannot prevent or contain or stop increasingly serious urban revolts. Harlem, Watts, Hough and Newark proved that the nation's ghettos will explode when people are crushed under poverty, disease and hopelessness. The myth could still be fostered, however, that a more "liberal," "enlightened" approach was all that was needed. Detroit proved the futility of the "band-aids and lollipop" approach.

Band-aids, in the form of anti-poverty programs, could not ease the running sores of hereditary poverty and discrimination. A few of life's goodies thrown to a section of the ghetto only helped increase the frustrations and alienation of the black masses who saw their potential leaders sucked into the machine of the capitalist power structure.

The capitalist leaders are now engaged in a "Great Debate" — what to do now? One group exclaims, "We daren't reward rioters by giving in to their demands. We've got to cut back on anti-poverty programs, beef up the police, pass anti-riot legislation, crack down hard on all militant leaders and organizations."

Another group argues, "We haven't given quite enough concessions yet. We have to give enough so that the responsible Negroes can re-establish leadership control and win people away from the extremists. We've got to do that or . . ." as Detroit's Mayor Cavanagh put it: "We're going to have not just a continuation, but I'd say — and it's terrible to contemplate — we're going to have some things far, far worse." Then there are the politicians who want a combination of the carrot and the stick: a few concessions here and there coupled with tightened police control and a witchhunt.

Black leaders are also debating, questioning, reviewing. The crisis of leadership in the black freedom movement was underlined by the Detroit uprising. It was obvious from previous ghetto explosions that the Martin Luther King philosophy of nonviolence had no hold on the masses of black Americans. The Detroit uprising didn't even give a passing nod to King and his methods. The local subservient black leadership was completely out of touch and out of sympathy with the ghetto freedom fighters. With very few exceptions, they rushed to condemn and deplore.

The Detroit rebellion exerted a power over the total workings of the city which has not been matched by any of the previous ghetto revolts. Due to the character of Detroit's living conditions, it wasn't just a tightly contained black ghetto that blew up. The whole city went. One of the largest cities in the U.S. was paralyzed. Businesses and banks were closed, transportation and communication was disrupted, mail was halted, schools and universities shut down, downtown was a ghost town. Communities throughout Michigan were affected and were put under the state of emergency provisions. In order to subdue the ghetto guerrillas, 20,000 police and soldiers had to occupy the whole city. As many persons commented, it was like Vietnam with an occupation army trying to pacify the population.

Very few Detroiters were able to escape the sights, sounds and smells of the flaming uprising. For many months to come, the physical evidences of the revolt will be on view to those travelling along the city's major streets. The twisted, scorched rubble will remain as testimony of the awe-inspiring power of the uprising and the inability of the rulers of this country to cope with the crises of the dying capitalist system. Through television and newspapers everyone in the country has been alerted to the magnitude of what happened in Detroit. More and more, sharper and sharper the questions will be asked: Why can't they settle the war in Vietnam? Why can't they handle the problems right here at home properly? What kind of leaders are running this country?

The press has set a \$1-billion figure as the total cost of the Detroit uprising. This figure includes a quarter of a billion dollars worth of property damage, the costs of maintaining an occupation army for a week and the loss of tax revenues from sales, property and income. The costs have also been measured in more human terms: 40 dead, over a thousand injured, thousands driven from their homes by fire, police and fear.

The ultimate social and political consequences, however, dwarf these statistics and their enormous import are yet to be fully absorbed. In his message to the Tricontinental, Che Guevara said imperialist aggression would be defeated in Vietnam when there are many Vietnams. A big one may be in the making right in the USA.

Background to a Social Explosion

By Mary Edwards

DETROIT — This was the place where IT was not supposed to happen — according to all the "experts." On the whole, unemployment was low and earnings were relatively good. Figures for 1965 show that per capita disposable income for Wayne County was \$2761; this was above the national average of \$2367. Wayne County residents had more money to spend than people in 98 percent of all the counties in the country. The median family income in the Detroit area is \$7375 — higher than in 99 percent of all U.S. counties. Last year the federal government poured over \$200 million into the county for items ranging from food stamps to highway construction. Detroit got about \$20 million worth of War on Poverty funds during 1965 and is now getting about \$30 million.

Included In

Afro-Americans were included in the organs of government, the Democratic Party machinery and the union leadership to some extent. There are two black Congressmen from Michigan in the U.S. House of Representatives. There's a black minister on the Detroit Common Council and a black doctor on the Detroit Board of Education. There are black legislators in the state government and two black mayors in the state. Black unionists are a large part of the secondary leadership and even occupy some of the higher UAW posts. Michigan is the only state with a constitutionally established Civil Rights Commission.

Living conditions in Detroit are more relaxed than in the tight ghettos of Harlem, Watts and Hough. Almost all areas of the

city have black or integrated neighborhoods. Black clubs, church groups, community organizations and civil rights groups are plentiful and active. The Detroit school system created and published the first "integrated" reading primer in the country.

Proud boasts were made at the beginning of the year about "new police-Negro amity." Statistics were paraded to show a reduction in the number of complaints of police brutality, increased hiring of black policemen and regular meetings between precinct officials and neighborhood leaders. Officials claimed a "historic" break through for Detroit which was reversing the trend towards increasing bitterness and hostility between blacks and the police forces across the nation. Hubert Locke, a black administrative assistant to Police Commissioner Girardin, stated in January, "If there is hope for any city, I think it's for Detroit."

The officially recognized "responsible Negro leadership" had the ear of the city administration. Mayor Jerome Cavanagh maintained close relations with this grouping and at the same time created a "neighborhood reporting service" to probe the plans and moods of the bitterly frustrated blacks in the most depressed sections of the ghetto. The black politicians, ministers and union leaders continually praised and supported Cavanagh's program and proudly proclaimed the smooth relations between the races in Detroit.

Pulse Taker

Conrad Mallett, the Afro-American on Cavanagh's staff who was in charge of "feeling the Inner City pulse," said that "things looked good" right up until the moment the uprising began. He based this estimate on the reports of spies planted inside groups of blacks and on the reports of thousands of other informers. On June 5, for example, special telephone numbers were given to poverty program workers, parks and public works employees, police and thousands of other "citizen-sentries" so they could report any signs that Detroit was in for a "long hot summer."

Detroit was hailed nationally for its "amicable race relations" and its skillful city administration which managed to keep the situation "under control" while Harlem, Watts, Chicago, Cleveland and countless other cities across the country exploded.

After the previous ghetto rebellions, officials and studies pointed to such things as high unemployment and rat-infested slums as the causes of what happened. "If only," they said, "we had more anti-poverty programs, if only we had more Negroes in government, if only Negroes were integrated more into the structure of American society, if only . . . Then we could avoid these riots." But every "if-only" was already a reality in Detroit. The situation in Detroit was the best American capitalist society could offer. And the best was not good enough for the searching young blacks of today's revolutionary generation.

What was the full picture of the best capitalism has to offer black people? The unemployment rate of blacks is about 8 percent, double that of whites; the unemployment rate for black women is even higher; the rate for black teenagers higher still.

As in other areas of the country, poverty and hollow promises were surrounded by plenty. In the Twelfth Street neighborhood where the uprising began, the unemployment figures stood at 11 percent and city housing officials admitted that 150,000 persons were jammed into area built to contain 30-40,000 people.

Although black auto workers



Photo by Nick Medvecky, Jr.

MAIN STREET, DETROIT, USA. Scene on Woodward Avenue, main street in downtown Detroit.

are organized within the UAW and reap the benefits of collective bargaining, the worst auto jobs are held by black workers. A survey of 1966 employment figures from seven auto firms showed that black employees make up 12 percent of the total auto labor force. However, black males make up 24 percent of the unskilled and service workers while black women in these categories total 18 percent.

Events in the weeks preceding the uprising give an indication of the normal conditions of life for Detroit's black people, conditions

which prevail around the country. At the end of June an Afro-American couple was attacked by a large group of white men in Rouge Park. The wife, six weeks pregnant, was threatened with rape and was struck with rocks. The husband was shot and killed. During the attack, the whites repeatedly shouted, "Niggers go home, this is our territory." A few weeks later a group of six young black fishermen were attacked by about 15 white men on Belle Isle. When the youths attempted to flee in a car, the whites threw rocks and bottles, beat on the car with

tire irons and trash cans, and taunted the Afro-Americans with shouts of "Where's your wife? If she was here, we'd rape her and throw you in the river." In both instances there were complaints about the way police handled the matters.

Rent gouging and lack of care for inner city housing is a constant problem in Detroit. Urban renewal projects are viewed with bitterness because of the displacement and misery they bring to inner city residents. A popular slogan in Detroit is "Urban renewal means Negro removal."

Local Hell

During the uprising a black woman exclaimed, "Don't let them tell you there's a hell when you die. Hell is right here while you're living." The Detroit hell included: inferior schools which robbed black children of self-confidence, skills and knowledge; a racist police force that deliberately created a phony "riot" in August, 1965, in order to test out their riot control plan and victimize black militants who had been protesting police brutality; a city administration that made no serious changes to improve the lives of black people; a political machine that skimmed off the top of the black leadership and fought any attempts at grassroots controls; cockroach white merchants who sold cheap goods at high prices in the ghetto and drove home to the suburbs at night; giant corporations that exploited black workers and posted a "showcase Negro" in their front offices.

The best that capitalist society had to offer was only enough to reach a thin layer of black people. The best was only enough to provide a bright spot in one area of life — so that the other areas looked that much bleaker by comparison. The best that American capitalism could offer black people was not good enough.

Socialist Wins Ohio Legal Case

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND — In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court of Ohio upheld the right to sell political literature on public sidewalks without a license.

The conviction of Paul Lodico three years ago for soliciting sales of the *Young Socialist* on a public sidewalk at Bowling Green State University without a license was reversed by the Court July 12.

The facts in the case, as stated in the opinion written by State Supreme Court Judge J. Schneider, were as follows:

"Defendant was on tour throughout the Midwest to publicize a conference being held at Wayne State University under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance, for the purpose of promoting the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States.

"The magazine in question sold for twenty-five cents, the proceeds going to defray the personal living expenses of the defendant. Defendant testified that if there were any surplus left after the payment of his expenses, it would be turned into the general fund of the Young Socialist Alliance, which published the magazine at a deficit . . ."

The court held that the licensing ordinance of the city of Bowling Green "constitutes a prior restraint on speech and publication. Unless the 'sale' of the magazine for twenty-five cents to defray the personal living expenses of the defendant transforms the distribution into a 'commercial' venture not subject to the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press, the conviction cannot stand."

U.S. Supreme Court rulings on the distinction between commercial and noncommercial solicitation were cited.

... "Self-Service" Was Integrated

(Continued from Page 1)

out to whites who took them and sauntered away.

One of these whites told me, "I walked into the back room of the store and a big black guy was there and he asked me, 'Do you want a rug, kid?' and he heaved a rug at me. I took it."

The white college students who live in my apartment building

... Cops and Courts

(Continued from Page 1)

with water. As if that were not enough to satisfy the vicious hatred of the cops, they returned the next night, again dumping books on the floor and flooding them by placing a mop in the sink and leaving the water running. They also burned the back room of the store.

Ed Vaughn, a militant Afro-American, told a *Militant* reporter, "When I called the 10th Precinct to report the damage, Sergeant Slaughter told me, 'I know it was done. I ordered it. We heard you had a gun.'" This was the excuse used to cause at least \$2,000 worth of damage to books which tell the truth about the black man.

Vaughn has filed a \$10-million damage suit against the city for this vandalism. Because the insurance on the store had been recently cancelled, a fund has been set up to help reopen this center for black thought and activity. Contributions may be sent to Vaughn's Book Store, c/o Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Michigan.

participated in the repossession (I say repossession because they actually had paid for these goods through the high prices charged by these merchants in the inner city). "They've been taking from us right along," one young white man said to me, "It's about time we got some of it back. I hope all the poor people around here got something."

A white man interviewed on TV said he saw the whites who set fire to the stores in my neighborhood. One of my friends talked to a white 22-year-old college student who had been arrested for looting. The student described the brutal treatment he and his friends and cellmates experienced at the hands of Detroit's police force. He and some friends, including one black youth, were stopped by the police after curfew. They were beaten with rifle butts and blackjacks, kicked, stomped; the black student was whipped with a shotgun and kicked in the groin.

Roughed Up

They were held in jail for four days. When they entered the police station they were roughed up again and were not informed of their legal rights until two days later. They were shoved into bullpens so overcrowded that the police couldn't even lock the doors. There was no place to lie down, little place to sit. The first day they got no food at all but on the evening of the second day they got a bologna sandwich and then it was another 48 hours before they saw any food.

He said about 10 percent of the

prisoners were white. The age range was between 17-25 but there was one 79 years old white man. Among the whites were some who seemed to have lived among blacks and got along with them plus some who feared Afro-Americans. Among the whites was a great deal of hostility towards the cops.

During the most explosive days of the uprising I drove all over the city and into those areas where most of the action was going on. Every now and then I would get out of the car, stand with blacks watching paratroopers guarding burned out buildings or people carrying items out of stores. I would turn to the blacks beside me and ask about what was happening in their neighborhood. I always received friendly answers. As a matter of fact, as I drove around blacks would often pull up close to me and tell me, as one did, "Hey, ma'm your license plate is falling off in back."

There were, of course, some instances reported of hostility against whites in primarily black neighborhoods and some whites got beaten (most TV and news reporters plus a storeowner who was beaten to death by blacks), but, on the whole, there was a remarkable degree of amity among poor whites and blacks who stood shoulder to shoulder watching the flames of their rebellion and who walked side by side carrying goods out of stores.

This poses a class aspect of the ghetto revolts that marks the Detroit uprising as the worst nightmare the capitalist rulers have had to face to date.

The Message from Detroit

DETROIT, July 29 — In 1963 the black people of Detroit held the biggest demonstration for freedom that this country had ever seen. Their march down Woodward Avenue on June 23, 1963, was even bigger than the famous march held in Washington two months later, and, like the Washington demonstration, it was nonviolent.

Now, four years and one month later, the Detroit ghetto has held another demonstration and has set another record. Only this time it was spontaneous rather than organized, it lasted several days instead of a few hours, and it was not nonviolent. There is still disagreement about what to call it, but whether it is called an explosion or an uprising or a rebellion or an insurrection, everybody agrees it is the biggest and most costly that this country has had since the Civil War.

Between these two events, the people that rule Detroit and all their lieutenants and lackeys, liberal and conservative, professional and amateur, white and black, labored and toiled to prevent the explosion. Every weapon at their command was used — from money to computers and prayer. Every possible combination of the carrot and the club was explored and given a try. Journalists and sociologists came from all over the country to marvel at the Detroit "method of preventing riots."

They managed to postpone the uprising, but they could not prevent it, and apparently the postponement only served to make it bigger when it came. They have been able to quell it, temporarily, but they, and whatever intelligent people are in Washington, are in a state of shock and alarm. And rightly so. Because if they couldn't prevent it in Detroit, can any city in the country now be considered "safe"?

And that is the chief message of Detroit: No city in the United States is "safe" (that is, immune from convulsions disrupting the "normal" operations of the capitalist system). There is a new generation on the scene since 1963, that simply will not accept what their parents and older brothers did. This signifies the opening in this country of a political and social crisis of the first magnitude, which will grip it with tensions at least equaling and probably surpassing those engendered by the imperialist war on Vietnam.

—George Breitman

Newark Rebellion Swelled Size of Black Power Parley

By Paul Boutelle

NEW YORK — When I first heard about the Newark Black Power Conference a few months ago, my immediate thoughts were, this conference is being organized mainly by moderates who hope to halt the development of an uncompromising revolutionary movement. I jokingly referred to it as "the \$25 conference" because of the \$25 registration fee which seemed to be both a hustle and a barrier to participation by impoverished black militants and grass-roots people.

But, due to the Newark uprising, the conference held July 20-23 turned out to be much larger, broader, and more militant than I had anticipated. Over a thousand black people came from 190 organizations and 36 different states.

Many varied positions on the present and future struggles of black people were heard and discussed. These included socialism, religious and secular nationalism,

revolution, reform, and separation and autonomy within the society. This discussion was the most important result of the conference because out of ideological exchanges like this will come a philosophy and program best suited to the needs of black people caught in the unholy trinity of Christianity, capitalism and caucasianism that make up twentieth century America.

The overall sentiment of the resolutions coming out of the conference was unequivocally on the side of nationalism, black control in our communities self-help, self-defense and solidarity with oppressed nonwhites throughout the world.

A message of solidarity was sent to the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity in Cuba.

One of the most significant aspects of the conference was the strong sentiment for forming a separate black state. A resolution which received enthusiastic support called for "starting a national dialogue on the desirability of partitioning the United States into two separate nations, one white and one black."

Other resolutions demanded an end to the Vietnam war, condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arabs and urged black youth to refuse the draft for Vietnam.

The degree to which a radical spirit dominated the conference could be seen even in the talks of the more moderate delegates. James Farmer, former head of CORE, asked to be introduced as "James Farmer — ex-pacifist."

There was strong feeling that black people should use their power politically. A resolution was passed calling for launching a black political "third force" which would be "the balance of power in elections." No explicit rejection of reliance on of the Democratic and Republican parties was made.

A manifesto put out by the conference called for the convening of future black power conferences before the end of this year.

Poll Shows New Rise In Antiwar Sentiment

Forty-nine percent of the American people oppose stepping up the U.S. troop commitment in Vietnam by 100,000 men, according to the July 30 Gallup Poll. Only 40 percent support the massive troop reinforcement urged by the Pentagon.

According to the same poll, the disapproval of Johnson's war policies in this country has grown to 52 percent. Only a third of those interviewed support the White House war program. This is the highest level of criticism expressed in Gallup Polls so far and represents a sharp increase since mid-June.

The survey also showed: 41 percent think Washington was wrong to send troops to Vietnam in the first place, another high in Gallup's findings; 56 percent think the U.S. is either "losing ground" or "standing still," compared with 51 percent who held this view at the beginning of the year.

... Detroit Uprising

(Continued from Page 1)

rising from 12th from miles around. By the middle of the afternoon, the uprising had spread all over the west side, and people were waiting to see if the east side would respond in appropriate fashion. The response was manifested that Sunday night. With the uprising so widespread, the police could do nothing, the sparks flew everywhere. Even with 7,000 National Guardsmen, the uprising could not be contained, the area being so vast.

While I was on 12th on Sunday night and Monday afternoon, the people were busily appropriating commodities out of the food, clothing, and shoe stores. Buildings that had been burned on Sunday were still smoking Monday afternoon. I saw the same thing on Linwood, Grand River, and Dexter. The mood of the people was that the eruption was "long overdue."

Open Defiance

One of the traits that a lot of the people exhibit, especially the younger blacks, was an open defiance of the occupation forces — the police, National Guardsmen, and the paratroopers. Several times on Sunday afternoon, it was impossible for the cops to arrest anyone on 12th because of the resistance put up by the people. And even when arrests were made, the police were taunted and insulted.

On Monday afternoon, while I was eating at a restaurant on Linwood, the police rode up and caught three older Brothers in the process of appropriating the wares of a store across the street. Two of the Brothers submitted to the arrest, but the third put up so much resistance that the cops handcuffed his hands behind his back and forced him into the car. This action immediately drew verbal attacks from the people standing around. The main cry was that the cops didn't have the nerve to try to arrest and subdue a young black, instead of an old one. The police, who had guns and rifles drawn, hurriedly left the scene.

Black Troops

One of the biggest ironies among the paratroopers sent into the city was that a lot of them were blacks who had fought in Vietnam and had relatives in Detroit. One black Vietnam veteran on leave said that if rice paddies were placed in the rebellious area, there would be no difference between Detroit and Vietnam.

In the rebellious area, I got a taste of how a Vietnamese or a Dominican felt when American forces occupied their homelands. The occupation forces had brought out all of their artillery — rifles, machine guns, tanks and helicopters with mounted machine guns. During the day you could hear the sirens of police and fire trucks as they made mad dashes through the streets to put out over 1,000 fires set during the upheaval.

At night, all you could hear were more sirens, the noise of the choppers a couple of hundred feet above your head, and the blaze of bullets coming from the machine guns and tanks of the occupation forces.

Rifle Fire

But at the same time, you could hear the cracking of rifle fire produced by those Brothers who had taken up the struggle against the invaders. The white press correctly labeled this phase of the rebellion guerrilla warfare. However, they incorrectly labeled the Brothers doing the shooting as snipers. If the term is not used to describe those American revolutionists who shot at the British from their rooftops, it cannot be used in this instance. The correct designation for those Brothers

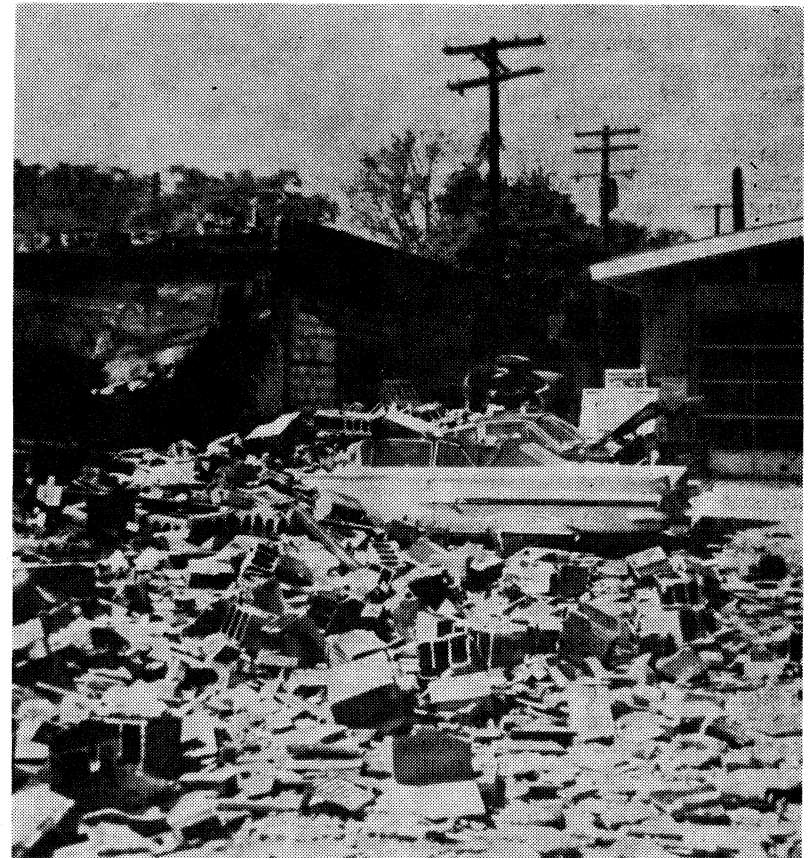


Photo by Nick Medvecky, Jr.

RUBBLE. Detroit ghetto dwellers made clear that they'll either get their rights or an awful lot will go down with them.

would be that of revolutionary fighters, or simply: urban guerrillas.

The guerrilla warfare reached its apex on Monday and Tuesday nights. On Monday night, it came from the east side, and on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, it came from the west side. And on all three nights, the occupation forces were routed by the black guerrillas. When the occupation forces were driven away from certain pockets of the ghetto, the white press described the action by the troops as "leaving the area to the snipers." Before the cops and National Guardsmen were driven out of one area, 200 of their forces were pinned down by a handful of guerrillas.

Daylight Attacks

One Brother fired upon the invading forces for one hour and forty minutes without being caught. There were several instances of armed attacks on the police in the daytime. Four police stations, six fire stations and a National Guard headquarters were under heavy attack by the ghetto guerrillas. And again the Brothers were able to elude their grasp. Such tactics created panic and frustration among the occupation troops. The cops were firing everywhere except in the right direc-

tion. This confusion resulted in the cops killing innocent people.

One sister lit a cigarette in her dark apartment near 12th one night, and received a barrage of machine-gun fire. Her four-year-old daughter was killed in this barrage. Many apartment buildings near 12th had the tops raked with machine-gun fire. The gun fire of the invading forces was indiscriminate. They suspected every high dwelling. Such actions are similar to the operations carried out by the Yankee imperialist forces in Vietnam. Every Vietnamese village contains the enemy.

An Example

When Detroit blew, it served as an example for other black ghetto areas in Michigan and around the country. These black rebellions are symptoms from which the conclusion can be drawn that white American capitalism is doomed. At this stage, the revolution is unorganized, sporadic, and spontaneous. It shows the revolutionary consciousness that is growing among the black ghetto masses. This growing consciousness creates the objective conditions for the formation of a revolutionary black leadership and organization. Such leadership and organization is a task which all black radicals must undertake and solve if the revolution is to win.

Racist Philadelphia Officials Impose Curfew to Curb Ghetto

PHILADELPHIA — Following the outbreak of ghetto uprisings across the country, a state of limited emergency was called here July 27. The proclamation jointly issued by Mayor Tate and Police Commissioner Rizzo, makes it illegal for more than 12 persons to assemble on the streets or sidewalks for any purpose whatsoever.

One hundred thousand copies of the edict have been printed and posted throughout the city ghettos. The police have been mobilized, and the entire force works 12 hours a day, six days a week.

In spite of the proclamation, a black rally was held Saturday afternoon in the North Philadelphia ghetto to hear Muhammad Ali. There were over 300 persons in attendance.

Although Ali could not appear, the rally was held to demonstrate solidarity of the black community

in face of Mayor Tate's provocation.

Playthel Benjamin addressed the rally on the subject of Afro-American history. Benjamin pointed out the growth of the black-liberation movement and declared that "By 1970, everyone will be a brother and sister whether he likes it or not."

The first use of the city proclamation came against an anti-war rally, Sunday afternoon. Twenty-two demonstrators, protesting both the war and the proclamation, were arrested following a vigil outside the Church of Saint Peter and Paul.

The effect of the proclamation can be seen in the knots of police which are on all important corners after dark and the red patrol cars and police wagons which seem to be everywhere. Many normally crowded ghetto streets were nearly deserted this weekend.

Mexico Witch-hunt

By Peter Camejo

[Since this story was received, Peter Camejo was seized by the Mexican government and put on a plane to the United States.]

MEXICO CITY, July 23—Eleven Mexicans and two "foreigners," a Venezuelan and a Salvadorean have been arrested here and brutally tortured. They were charged July 19 with conspiring to overthrow the Mexican government. Among them is my brother, Danny Camejo, who is 29 and a Venezuelan by birth.

The discovery of the "plot" came at a highly opportune time for the U.S. State Department's campaign against Cuba: the eve of the conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity (OLAS) which was scheduled to begin July 28 in Havana. On July 18, the day before the Mexican assistant attorney general held his press conference announcing the discovery of the "plot," the Associated Press reported from New York that the Mexican government had decided to hold up issuing visas to delegates planning to attend the Solidarity Conference.

As for the so-called plot itself, which was so politically convenient, the secret police [Direccion Federal de Seguridad — DFS] concocted such an incredible frame-up that their only hope of making it stick was to get "confessions" from their victims.

Obtained "Confessions"

The DFS kidnapped the 13 "conspirators" one at a time, beginning July 12; took them to a secret house or headquarters of the DFS and there got "confessions."

Raúl Contreras Alcántara, for instance, testified he was kidnapped, had his hands tied, was blindfolded and driven to a house July 13. There he was beaten for days and starved. No one knew what had happened to him until it was announced a week later in the daily papers. Of course, Contreras "confessed."

Eduardo Fuentes y de la Fuente, 19 years old, was held for four days and received the same treatment as Contreras except he also had cigarettes burned on his arms and back.

Most of the prisoners were forced to sit up for 48 hours, some, like my brother, not blindfolded but with a light shining in their eyes.

Adrián Campos Díaz, a peasant from the State of Guerrero who does not know how to read or write, was coughing blood when the lawyers first saw him.

What is their crime? The government and the widely quoted "confessions" claim Red China was slipping them \$1,600 a month to organize "urban and rural guerrillas" to overthrow the "democratic" government of Díaz Ordaz.

Along with the financial help, they claim China was sending all kinds of literature including pictures of Lenin, Mao, Stalin and Marx. Pictures of Castro also appeared.

Newspapers have varied on the total amount of literature. The government claims they had twelve tons. Some newspapers upped it to over twenty tons. The



Daniel Camejo

pictures of Mao and Lenin were run in the daily papers as additional proof of the plot.

The assistant attorney general, Julio Sanchez Vargas, also announced that the thirteen planned to rob a bank to get funds for arms. Apparently the Mexican government was embarrassed over the Chinese only spending \$1,600 a month to overthrow them and so they decided to add a little more working capital to their "plot."

The daily papers, like *El Sol*, *El Dia*, *El Herald*, *La Prensa*, *Excelsior*, *La Opciones*, and *El Universal* have been running headline stories for four days.

One indication of the frame-up is the fact that the defendants are not even members of the same organization. Most are described by the press here as "members of the pro-Maoist, Marxist-Leninist Movement," while my brother Danny is described as a "prominent Trotskyist," and Adán Nieto Castillo, the supposed leader of the "plot," is an unaffiliated labor lawyer.

All of the papers report every word of the prosecutor as unquestionable truth. When it became known the prisoners had all been tortured not one paper protested or even demanded an investigation, not to speak of the "democratic" Mexican government.

The trade union bureaucrats like Fidel Velázquez, and so-called socialist deputies like Jorge Cruickshank, Lombardo Toledano's right-hand lieutenant, have joined in the lynch atmosphere with shouts of "Troskyite agents."

Even Judge Noticed

The frame-up was so raw, however, that the government's Judge Pavón felt compelled after a hearing July 21 to modify one of the charges levelled by the police against the defendants. Ten of them had been accused of conspiring to blow up an army truck carrying troops, arms and money. The judge threw out the charge against nine of the defendants leaving only Adrián Campos Díaz charged with this crime. Campos was allegedly instructed to dig a hole in the highway where dynamite was placed.

The charge was a key one in the police frame-up since it was the only overt act charged against the victims.

Who are the so-called plotters? Adán Nieto Castillo is a lawyer for the truckdrivers union. A couple of unions have stuck up for him in spite of the government pressure. Nieto, 43, is the oldest of those arrested. He has stated that he does not know any of the other twelve arrested.

Among the group is a peasant, a government employee, four students and four book sellers who dealt in radical literature.

My brother was picked up to add a Venezuelan coloration to the frame-up and help give it an international touch.

Of prime importance in the widely publicized evidence against

him was alleged possession of a film on Vietnam called "Time of the Locust" and a film on Venezuelan social conditions and guerrilla activity called "FALN."

Both films have been shown throughout the United States and at the University of Mexico. The government organized a special showing for the press which was supposed to prove definitively my brother's nefarious doings.

All the defendants denied the charges made against them. The formal charges include, conspiracy, "inviting" (not inciting) to rebellion, "contemplating" robbery, damaging the property of others and criminal association.

The hearing before a judge July 21 was under the heaviest guard in Mexican judicial history according to court officials. Each defendant stated how the confessions had been forced from them.

One of the prisoners, José Luis Salva Téllez, telling about the "confession" placed before him by the police, said: "I signed because they brought in my wife and said they would kill her. Then I felt the barrel of a pistol at my head."

Adán Nieto declared: "The government can violate the rights of those who are struggling for a world without exploitation and it can convert the virtues of the defendants into crimes and the vices of the government into virtues. It can call us thieves, rebels, assassins, guerrillas, subversives, but there is something they cannot change: the verdict of history."

The judge just listened.

Saw Brother

Today, July 23, I was at last permitted to see my brother for an hour. During his interrogation the secret police produced files containing information only the United States government could have provided them.

For instance, his questioner knew the day my brother first entered the United States in 1940!

Danny told me all the prisoners have to sleep on concrete slabs. Although this is Mexico it gets quite cold at night because of the altitude. He asked me if I could get him and the other prisoners some blankets and clothing.

I had brought clothing and blankets with me but the police refused to give them to the prisoners. I and a friend gave him some of the clothes we were wearing.

Danny was in good spirits and feeling better although he had been beaten like the others. He described how they held a pistol to his head and told him he would be killed if he didn't sign the "confession" they made up for him, and the papers permitting the police to search his apartment.

Morale High

In spite of everything the morale of all the political prisoners is high, they are all united and will present a united defense. Even the most badly beaten were completely unbroken.

There is much speculation that Mexico has created this "plot" in order to break relations with Cuba under pressure from the United States. It is not completely clear yet how far this frame-up will go.

As I was leaving the jail I saw Adolfo Gilly and we waved at each other. Gilly is the writer who spoke in Berkeley last year under the auspices of *Ramparts* magazine. Gilly has been in prison for over a year on a similar "plot" frame-up. He is still waiting for his trial to begin.

Like Gilly, the 13 arrested last week cannot get bail. Mexican law does not permit bail for anyone facing a sentence of over five years.

Protests against the barbarous treatment of the Mexican political prisoners should be sent to: Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, President of the Republic of Mexico, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico.

To send funds for defense: P.O. Box 1208, Berkeley, Calif.

The Black Struggle The Frame-Up Of H. Rap Brown

Authorities in Cambridge, Md. are determined to frame up SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown on the grounds that he caused the violence that broke out there after he spoke on July 24. He has been charged with "inciting to riot" and "counseling to burn."

Following his talk at a Cambridge street meeting, Brown was shot and wounded in the forehead. According to a SNCC spokesman, it happened as he left the meeting with a number of friends. As they started down the street they noticed two cops walking ahead of them. Then they saw cops mobilizing to either side, and without warning, shooting came from the direction of the cops. A shotgun pellet hit Brown in the forehead.

Later, a march begun by blacks was broken up by police, and other violence followed. A carfull of whites drove through the black community with buckshot spraying from the windows. A policeman received a superficial gunshot wound and a fire destroyed two blocks of buildings in the black community.

After warrants were drawn up for Brown's arrest, the FBI began what was referred to by papers as a "manhunt" for him. When told of this, Maryland's Gov. Agnew commented, "I hope they pick him up soon, put him away and throw away the key."

Brown was arrested on July 26 at the Washington National Airport by the FBI. They turned him over to Virginia police. Bail was set at \$10,000.

* * *

A large rally protesting the arrest of Rap Brown was held by Washington SNCC July 27. Although it was called at the last moment, 1,000 D.C. people turned out for the meeting.

* * *

In Britain, racists are blaming the rise in unemployment on Asian and Indian immigrants who have come to England in the past decade. Five men were recently arrested in Sussex County for selling literature claiming that colored people were "taking the bread from the honest working man" and referring to them as "potential rapists, torturers and mutilators."

* * *

Stokely Carmichael has been banned from England by an official order of the British government. This was announced after his recent visit to London where government officials claim he stirred up "racial animosities."

Meanwhile in Cuba, where Carmichael is an honored guest, the government doesn't seem worried about his "stirring up" the island's black population. Some 27 per cent of the Cuban people are black.

* * *

Some 175 people heard a first-



Stokely Carmichael

Art and Reality

"I will sign a proclamation tonight calling for a day of prayer in our nation throughout all of our states." (President Johnson during Detroit rebellion, July 27, 1967).

They're simple souls that see in black and white / And so to ease their doubts and foolish fancies / I plan to call a national day of prayer / We'll get the biggest preacher in the country / You know the one I mean — the guy's got class / We'll make it high-toned, dignified, and solemn / Organs, choirs, pictures of me, ponderin' / Now that's the sort of thing builds confidence.

(MacBird, Act III, Scene I)

hand account of the Newark Rebellion by Lawrence Stewart at the New York Militant Labor Forum July 21. Larry Neal of the Afro-American Artists' Committee discussed the arrest of author LeRoi Jones and the efforts to defend him. The forum audience contributed \$145 toward a legal fund for victims of repression. Donations to this fund can be sent to the Afro-American Artists' Committee, c/o LeRoi Jones, 33 Stirling St., Newark, N.J.

* * *

Max Stanford, one of the 16 black people arrested in the case of the alleged plot to kill Roy Wilkins, has had his bail reduced from \$100,000 to \$15,000.

A rally in defense of the 16 will be held Aug. 6 at 3:00 p.m. in St. Albans Plaza, St. Albans, New York.

* * *

On the third day of the rebellion, the Malcolm X Society of Detroit submitted a list of demands to authorities. In telegrams to President Johnson, Gov. Romney and Mayor Cavanagh, they said "we will ask for a cessation of all hostilities by insurrectionists, provided the following eight points are accepted and are the basis of discussion:

1. Withdraw all troops.
2. Release all prisoners.
3. Give amnesty to all insurrectionists.
4. Set [establish] district police commissioners.
5. Agree to urban renewal veto by residents.
6. Divide City Council and the school board by districts.
7. Provide funds for community-owned businesses and cooperatives, allowing groups of Negroes to go into business for themselves.
8. Institute compensatory and compulsory equal employment enforcement."

In explaining the telegram, Richard Henry, a leader of the society, said, "We don't claim any control over the insurrectionists. But we believe, because of what we represent, that if we ask for a cessation of hostilities based on the acceptance of these eight points as a basis for discussion, it [the end of the rebellion] will occur."

—Elizabeth Barnes

HUGO BLANCO Must Not Die

By

Andre Gunder Frank

(Text of address to solidarity meeting in Canada by the noted Latin-American expert.)

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Riot and Revolution

Detroit, Mich.

Masses of our people are on the move fighting the enemy tit-for-tat, responding to counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth. But we are moving spontaneously without political philosophy, organization or direction.

In this chaos and dilemma we must thoroughly analyze our struggle if we are to devise the correct strategy and tactics to be victorious against the enemy. Therefore we must ask ourselves the following questions:

What's the difference between a riot and a revolution?

A. A riot is a spontaneous action among the people to express their frustrations. A riot usually begins and then is organized. A revolution is organized and then expanded.

B. A riot has no political objective. A revolution has a political objective.

C. A riot does not have a political philosophy. A revolution has a political philosophy.

D. A riot has no political program. A revolution has a political program.

E. A riot does not have a political perspective and a political organization base, a revolution has both.

On July 27 I went to Jackson prison to visit two men. The prison was crowded. The guards and other prison personnel were exceptionally nice. We did not visit in the regular visiting room.

I was ushered through several barred doors upstairs where we sat and talked. We sat on straight-back chairs. The two prisoners told me that the new prisoners were getting bologna sandwiches; and the regular prisoners, hot food.

They just didn't have the facilities to feed and house these extra people. The prison people were afraid that these (mostly young) prisoners would start something.

Connie Mason

Reaction in Suburbia

Warren, Mich.

In the city of Warren, where I live, hysteria was the order of the day during the Detroit rebel-

lion. Rumors spread like forest fires, and the city governments of the outlying cities were no better than the citizens that I came into contact with. Everyone was letting himself be carried away with the insanity.

On Monday, July 24, it was the worst. People on some streets were sitting on their porches with guns, waiting to "get a nigra." Others were actually forming street militias. My particular street was one of the less violent ones. There were not too many guns, and people talked on the curbs and sidewalks.

A theatre two and a half miles from my area was supposed to be burned to the ground. I heard one teenager remark, "I don't care if they burn their own slums down, but I liked that theatre. Who do they think they are, anyway?" Then a business and shopping area was supposed to be on fire and looted about a mile and a half away. Children told each other the news: "The niggers are coming!" No doubt they heard this tidbit of information from their parents. The way these people were, one would expect armies of black nationalists and looters to descend upon the city of Warren.

One woman said to me, "I hear that troops from Alabama are being sent in. They know how to handle 'em." "So did Hitler," I said.

Helicopters flew overhead, obviously going to the area of the rebellion, and this made things worse.

A tool and die shop began burning rubbish and in a matter of minutes two fire engines, a fire chief, two police cars and a motley assemblage of vigilantes with all sorts of weapons were on the scene.

The most dominant theory concerning the rebellion was that it was all gangsters, vandals and hoodlums, many from out of town, who did it while the "responsible citizens" stayed home. Another theory was that the rebellion was communist-inspired.

The rumors of course were all untrue.

D. W.

Canada Antiwar Fighters

Richmond Hill, Canada

To the American people,

As Canadians who participated in the April 15 New York Peace March against the war in Vietnam, we would like to thank the many Americans who welcomed us warmly.

We abhor the Johnson administration's dangerous military policy in Vietnam. That the American government which claims to stand for freedom should support the dictatorial regime of South Vietnam and send its own sons to be killed on its behalf, is both astonishing and deplorable.

The result of any miscalculation or escalation could lead to the annihilation of us all. We also protest against the sending of Canadian armaments used to kill and maim the Vietnamese, and the silent diplomacy of our government.

Thus we speak out against this massacre whenever and wherever possible. We offer solidarity with all peace-loving Americans and welcome correspondence. We are with you.

B. Bryant, Sec'y
York Committee to End
the War in Vietnam
Box 272, Richmond Hill,
Ontario

Pro-Israel

Jamaica, N.Y.

For many years I have long wondered why the ordinary person in the street had such difficulty understanding the logic and rationality of socialism. After having read the last three issues of

The Militant on the Middle East issue I have begun to understand.

In all of the interpretations, analyses and comments no one has seen fit to attempt an explanation of the following facts:

(1) Nasser's speech of 28 May when he declared: "We intend to open a general assault against Israel. This will be total war. Our basic aim is the destruction of Israel."

(2) The 1957 United Nations enunciation of the doctrine of free and innocent passage through the Strait of Tiran.

(3) The nature of the totalitarian and dictatorial regimes in Syria and Egypt; the feudalistic regimes of Jordan and Saudi Arabia in contrast with the multi-party democracy of Israel.

What can be the basis of the socialist criticism of Israel? Where is the sense of reality? If the Arabs within Israel have not been treated equitably by the Israeli government why is no mention made of the treatment of Jews in Arab nations? If Israel has been unwilling to accept the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees why have the Arab states also refused to re-settle them and work out a compensation plan for them based on a peace treaty with Israel and a recognition of Israel's sovereignty?

In no way has *The Militant* either expressed, defined or even explained its stand on this complex issue. I must conclude that rather than being the voice of progressivism and the working class, *The Militant* has become an apologist for a policy that seems bent on continuing the genocide begun 25 years ago. I cannot believe that all the blame is one-sided. For all your protestations I see no criticism leveled at the Arab policies. I fear for the socialist movement if you are an example of its best thinking and rationality.

Arnold Feinblatt

Thought for the Week

"Is this reconciliation to be limited only to our citizens? Could we not also be reconciled with our brothers in Vietnam? May I speak only as a Christian and humbly ask the President to announce: 'I shall withdraw our forces immediately from Southern Vietnam.'" — Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in his sermon responding to Johnson's request for prayers for an end to racial strife.

Against Both

Berkeley, Calif.

The crisis which confronted the world from the Middle East is one which sparked some conflict on the ideological front here at home. I would like to take space in your paper to advance a few criticisms of the political line being advanced by the SWP and YSA here. The present policy is one of complete support for the Arabs with little or no mention of the Israeli working class. The argument which I have frequently been confronted with in support of this line runs something like a general, explaining the expediency of sacrificing his troops in battle.

Studying the Middle East crisis I contend there is only one principled Marxist-Leninist line to follow and that is, to quote an old slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war." The only correct line to take is to urge the working class on both side of the border, Israeli and Arab, to change the directions of their armed might and engage in the overthrow of their respective governments.

While in *The Militant*, this idea has been touched on, among SWP and YSA circles out here it has been pushed into the background, in order to advance the opportunist line of support for the Arabs over Israel. The argument used to defend this takes the form of contending that the possibility of the Israeli workers overthrowing the Zionist government is not foreseeable at the moment, therefore, "support for the Arabs." Period.

Lenin pointed out that the only line for a Marxist to advance was a principled line. While the support of the Arabs over Israel at this moment looks more practical and realistic, when the situation cools, independent of whether Israel returns the territory it has stolen, the situation will essentially be the same as before, with both working classes still under their respective capitalist regimes, completely proving the bankruptcy of the "Support the Arabs" line.

If on the other hand, a principled Marxist position had been advanced, in the long run it would have been proven correct, considering that workers everywhere in the world, at each stage of the game, more at some than others, look to the Marxists for their evaluation of this or that situation, it would be to our advantage as revolutionary socialists to adopt a principled stand and not line up behind the Arab bourgeoisie.

Ed Stover

A Supporter

New York, N.Y.

Because of summer vacation, will you please send *The Militant* to my home address. If possible, please also send the July-August *International Socialist Review* to the above address.

I do enjoy reading your paper very much. Please keep up the excellent reporting.

Enclosed is a \$5 contribution to help the SWP. I wish I could do more.

S.L.W.

It Was Reported in the Press

Things-Are-Tough-All-Over Department — "Johnson Is Said to Lose Sleep in Detroit Crisis" — Headline in the July 26 *New York Times*.

Pro-Capitalist Uprising? — Probing the various aspects of the ghetto outbreaks, the Aug. 1 *Wall Street Journal* observed: "At least part of the looting was based on the calculated risk of getting something for nothing."

Subversion in High Places — One TV commentator explained that de Gaulle shouting "Vive Le Quebec Libre!" from the balcony of the Montréal City Hall is like shouting: "Black Power!" from the balcony of the White House.

Marxmen? — Some people might want to buy the Beatles record, "Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band," just for the picture of Karl Marx on the cover.

Brazen — New York's first all-girl topless rock group call themselves "The Ladybirds."

The Great Society — Welfare payments to some 200 Portland area families were cut off for the summer because there is a shortage of berry-picking labor. Farm owners pay starvation wages for backbreaking work. It is assumed that the welfare cutoff will make more hands available to them.

Bargain-Basement Special — Sulka's is offering a summer special on custom made shirts. Prices begin at \$22.50 each, three shirts minimum order. The offer is available at Sulka shops in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Palm Beach, London and Paris.

It Figures — "Campaign Asks for More Graves — National Legion Commander Leads Fight for National Cemetery System Expansion." — Headline in the July 24 *Los Angeles Times*.

Florida Scene — A Florida newspaper editor filed suit charging Gov. Claude Kirk with 20 violations of state election laws. Among the charges are that Kirk allegedly permitted others to repay a \$75,000 "loan" he made from his campaign committee and that he accepted campaign contributions in

excess of the legal limit with the additional amounts recorded under fake names. Meanwhile, in a fit of generosity, Kirk signed a bill increasing minimum teachers' pay from \$80 a week to \$100 — by 1969.

Intelligence — Retired Lt. Gen. Arthur Trudeau, whom the U.S. Army relied on to direct its intelligence efforts from 1953 to 1955, says the leaders of the demonstrations against the Vietnam war are directed from Moscow. He didn't say where he gets his intelligence.

—Harry Ring

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

THE GHETTO REBELLIONS — A Report from Detroit by Derrick Morrison, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance, who is active in Detroit's ghetto. Fri., Aug. 11, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

* * *

GUERRILLA WARFARE IN BOLIVIA. Speaker: Hedda Garza, editor, U.S. Latin American Justice Committee Reporter. Fri., Aug. 18, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Cops in East Harlem Touch Off Outbreak

By Richard Garza

NEW YORK — On July 23, on the island of Puerto Rico, a vote was taken to continue that island's dependent ties with the U.S. On the same day, on the island of Manhattan, in "El Barrio", the oldest Puerto Rican community in the city, Reinaldo Rodriguez was shot to death by a plainclothes cop.

A crowd gathered and a patrol car sped to the scene. Two cops got out and the crowd continued to grow. Someone asked one of the cops what happened. "Nothing," he replied, "A spic got fresh and had to be made to mind." The other cop added: "One spic less." That's how it began.

Puerto Ricans have been killed by cops in New York's Lower East Side and on New York's West Side; they have been found hanged in police cells, they have been shot in police cars while on the way to police stations. In spite of protests and promises by the dozens of agencies in the neighborhoods manned by Puerto Rican social-worker types and promises of investigations by the city authorities, nothing has ever been done to the killers.

A Puerto Rican youth worker one block away from where the shooting took place told me the cops began pushing everyone around. One cop was saying: Move-on you m---f---g spics." The youth worker remonstrated with the cop and got shoved. Others were beaten with clubs.

One youngster got separated from the rest. He was knocked down and clubbed by the cops. The youth worker intervened successfully and the young fellow was taken to the hospital. Other times he wasn't so successful. William De Jesus, the honorary Hispanic mayor, a columnist for the anti-Castro newspaper *El Tiempo*, wrote: "I personally have been attacked . . . Not only have I had to go out and defend many of my employees who have been beaten but I've had to defend myself."

I asked my friend the youth worker if only young people had participated in the skirmishes. He told me he saw people in their 20s and 30s taking part. They had

Probe Demanded In Austin Killing Of Peace Activist

NEW YORK — The Fifth Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has called for a full-scale investigation of the fatal shooting of Texas antiwar activist George Vizard July 23.

Terming the act "an apparent political assassination," Parade Committee coordinators Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker protested the attempt by Austin police officials to deny a political motivation in Vizard's murder.

Vizard, 23, was shot in the back at a drive-in grocery store where he worked in Austin. His body was discovered in the store's meat freezer. Police claimed that some money had been taken from the store but that \$60 remained in the cash register.

Mr. Dellinger and Mrs. Becker pointed out that Vizard had been recently threatened by the John Birch society, and only a short time before the murder the Austin police had advised him to "cool" his antiwar activities or they "could not be responsible" for his life.

George Vizard was a member of the Austin chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, the Austin Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the W.E.B. Du Bois Club.



Mayor Lindsay

thrown bricks, bottles and garbage can covers at the cops but they did not use guns.

Block workers had spoken to the doctor who extracted the bullet from the body of Mrs. Emma Had-dock, who had been killed by a shot fired into her apartment. He found a .38 caliber bullet, the police regulation size, not a .22 as originally reported. Another victim who police claimed had died of a broken neck in a fall from a roof was found to have two .38 slugs in him.

A young Puerto Rican waitress, working in her mother's restaurant, explained that after the Tactical Police had finally been withdrawn, groups of five cops were left on street corners. One group had gotten drunk and argued among themselves.

Just Laughed

If the kids were so mean, she continued, that would have been the time for them to get those policemen. Instead they just laughed at them and made fun of them. "You know," she said, "the government should build more projects so that people could move out of these roach-infested places. The rats aren't only in the buildings but are in the open yards and spaces. Maybe now they'll do something instead of stalling. If they don't, maybe next time it will be much worse."

The block worker told me they had met with Mayor Lindsay and told him about the behavior of the police. "But he wouldn't promise anything. All he said was that he would talk to the commissioner about it. At one point we got up to leave, but then we stayed and one of the women told him that she was afraid that after he left them he would just forget what they had said."

Amalia Betanzos, president of the National Association of Puerto Ricans for Civil Rights, told one Spanish-language newspaper, "Instead of solving and alleviating our problems, the attempt has been made to oppose the power of an indignant group with police force. This can only bring tragedies. This is the reason for the disturbances."

Sergeant Miguel Angel Rodriguez, on leave from Germany for his brother's funeral and a veteran of Korea, said, "I think what happened was a mistake by the police. I believe in respecting the law, but there are other ways of handling an armed man without having to kill him."

The block worker described one block where the Puerto Rican flag had been raised as well as headless effigies of a cop and of Lindsay. "Maybe," he said "they're beginning to recognize who the enemy is."

War, Racism Key Issues In S.F. Race

By George Ackermann

SAN FRANCISCO — Employment, housing, education, and police brutality problems have steadily worsened here over the past few years. Employment prospects are generally poor, and have gone from bad to worse in the black and Spanish-speaking ghettos. At the same time, the administration of Mayor Shelley has pushed an "urban renewal" program for the Mission district ghetto and Western Addition ghetto which is really a "removal of the poor" program.

Landlords have taken advantage of the recent shift of the property tax burden to the small homeowner as well as the housing shortage aggravated by the Vietnam war, in order to jack up rents all over the city.

De facto segregation in the city's schools is rapidly increasing, but the city "fathers" show no indication of acting to correct it.

The immediate cause for the deterioration of living conditions in San Francisco is the Vietnam war. Bob Davis and Clyde Cumming, socialist candidates for mayor and supervisor respectively, have emphasized the link between the attack on the living standards of the workers in San Francisco and the attack on the Vietnamese revolution. The cost of suppressing the colonial revolution is rising and the workers are being forced to finance it. In lives and dollars, the price of imperialist reaction is taken out of the hides of the nation's — and the city's — workers.

Bob Davis' main opponent is the incumbent Democratic Mayor John F. Shelley. Shelley claims to be the friend of labor and the black man, but his record gives the lie to his pose. Shelley is a former labor bureaucrat. In May 1967 he opposed the right of transport workers to strike. Also in May he refused to condemn the racist hiring practices of the Golden Gate Bridge Authority. He did not oppose the shifting of the property-tax burden to small home-owners and renters. His descriptions of the police assault on the Bayview-Hunters Point and Fillmore ghettos last September as a "Negro riot" provoked not by police brutality but by "economic conditions" only, was a masterpiece of demagoguery. Naturally, Shelley favors the Vietnam war.

Mrs. Cumming is the only woman and the only Afro-American advocate of black power running for city office. She is running against a collection of local businessmen and professionals whose main concerns are the protection of business profit and the "pacification" of the ghetto. She declares that a real solution to the problems in the ghetto can't be seriously undertaken until all American troops are withdrawn from Vietnam.



Clyde Cumming

Visitors Report Hanoi Certain U.S. Is Losing

By Les Evans

NEW YORK — Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine, and Nick Egleson, president of Students for a Democratic Society, reported here July 26 on their recent visit to North Vietnam. They were just in Hanoi for two weeks at the invitation of the Peace Committee of North Vietnam. They came back convinced the U.S. is losing the war there.

Egleson said that North Vietnamese and representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam he spoke to were convinced that the war had turned in their favor and the United States was losing ground.

Leaders of the NLF reportedly told Egleson that their views were based on the general pattern of American operations in the war. "The Americans are on the offensive during the dry season from November to June. Major operations are halted during the rainy season because of the difficulty of air support and the muddy roads. During the last two dry seasons the Americans have failed to make any inroads into territory held by the NLF despite their massive sweeps such as Operation Junction City."

Can't Hold On

American forces can drive through any area in South Vietnam, Egleson said, but they have been unable to hold and occupy any new areas or to destroy the fighting organizations of the NLF. As soon as the U.S. operation has passed through, the area is again in the hands of the liberation forces.

Egleson said he asked North Vietnamese officials under what conditions they would enter negotiations with the United States. He was told that unconditional cessation of bombing would be a prerequisite to the opening of talks.

Both North and South Vietnamese made it plain that the independence of Vietnam was not negotiable. In Egleson's opinion the Vietnamese would come to the

conference table to justly demand that the United States withdraw its troops from Vietnam and would never accept continued American occupation of South Vietnam.

Dave Dellinger was in North Vietnam in October and November of last year, at the beginning of the dry season and the American offensive. Then, he said, people were confident that someday the U.S. would be defeated and forced to withdraw, but it was a quiet, long-term perspective.

When he returned this May 9, at the end of the American offensive, there was "A totally new tone, much higher morale. They are convinced they are winning the war. A frequent comment was 'If the U.S. couldn't conquer us at Junction City they can't conquer us anywhere.'"

Moral Victory

The Vietnamese, Dellinger said, were very heartened by the American antiwar movement and saw the development of a vocal opposition in the U.S. itself as a great moral victory in their struggle for freedom. Nevertheless, he said, there was one note that bothered them: "The Vietnamese were upset by Negotiation Now. They are insulted by a campaign that says 'Who is willing to negotiate determines who wants to continue the war.' They say the facts of the war itself show who the aggressor is, which negotiations have nothing to do with."

Dellinger reported a political shift in attitudes toward China and Russia. In November when he was last there, the official view seemed to be simple neutrality in the Sino-Soviet split. In June the attitude was one of the open assertion of the independence of North Vietnam from both China and the Soviet Union and stressing of ties with Cuba and North Korea.

Dellinger closed with an appeal to support the Oct. 21 mobilization in Washington as a more militant, massive confrontation with the warmarkers.

Noted New Yorkers Support Drive for Peace Referendum

NEW YORK — H. Rap Brown, James Forman, Lincoln Lynch and a number of other prominent figures have rallied to support the efforts of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee to put a referendum on the ballot here to give voters a chance to express their opposition to the war in Vietnam.

H. Rap Brown is chairman of SNCC, Lincoln Lynch is associate national director of CORE and James Forman is international director of SNCC. Others who have endorsed the referendum include author Philip Roth; Dr. Otto Nathan; literary critic Dwight MacDonald; William Pepper, of the Conference for New Politics; Muriel Rukeyser, poet; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine; and the Fort Washington-Manhattanville Reform Democratic Club.

Organizers report an encouraging turnout of volunteers to gather the necessary 50,000 signatures to put the measure on the ballot. Large-scale mobilizations of canvassers are held every Saturday, meeting at the Parade Committee offices at 17 E. 17 St. People are also going out every evening to gather additional signatures.

The Parade Committee has announced the opening of nine local

referendum centers where volunteers can get petitions, instruction sheets and canvassing assignments. These are located at:

•MANHATTAN:

St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 W. 20 St., phone 675-5535; Village Peace Center, 224 W. 4 St., phone AL 5-1341; and Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action, 105 Avenue B, phone 477-9749.

•QUEENS:

Queens Peace Referendum Committee, 75-29 Parsons Blvd., phone 658-9405 or 739-9434.

•BROOKLYN

Peace and Freedom Movement, 722 Nostrand Avenue, phone 967-9679; Brooklyn Vietnam Summer, 1602 Avenue U, phone 648-4707; Brownsville: Barbara Bonhomme, 429 Dumont Avenue, 4th floor (Sat. only); Prospect Park: Sharon Finer, 209 Underhill Avenue (Sat. only), phone 622-2175.

•BRONX:

Church of St. John the Baptist, 2409 Lorillard Place.

A special mobilization is planned for Sunday, Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, to gather signatures at churches throughout the city.

For further information call the Parade Committee at 255-1075.